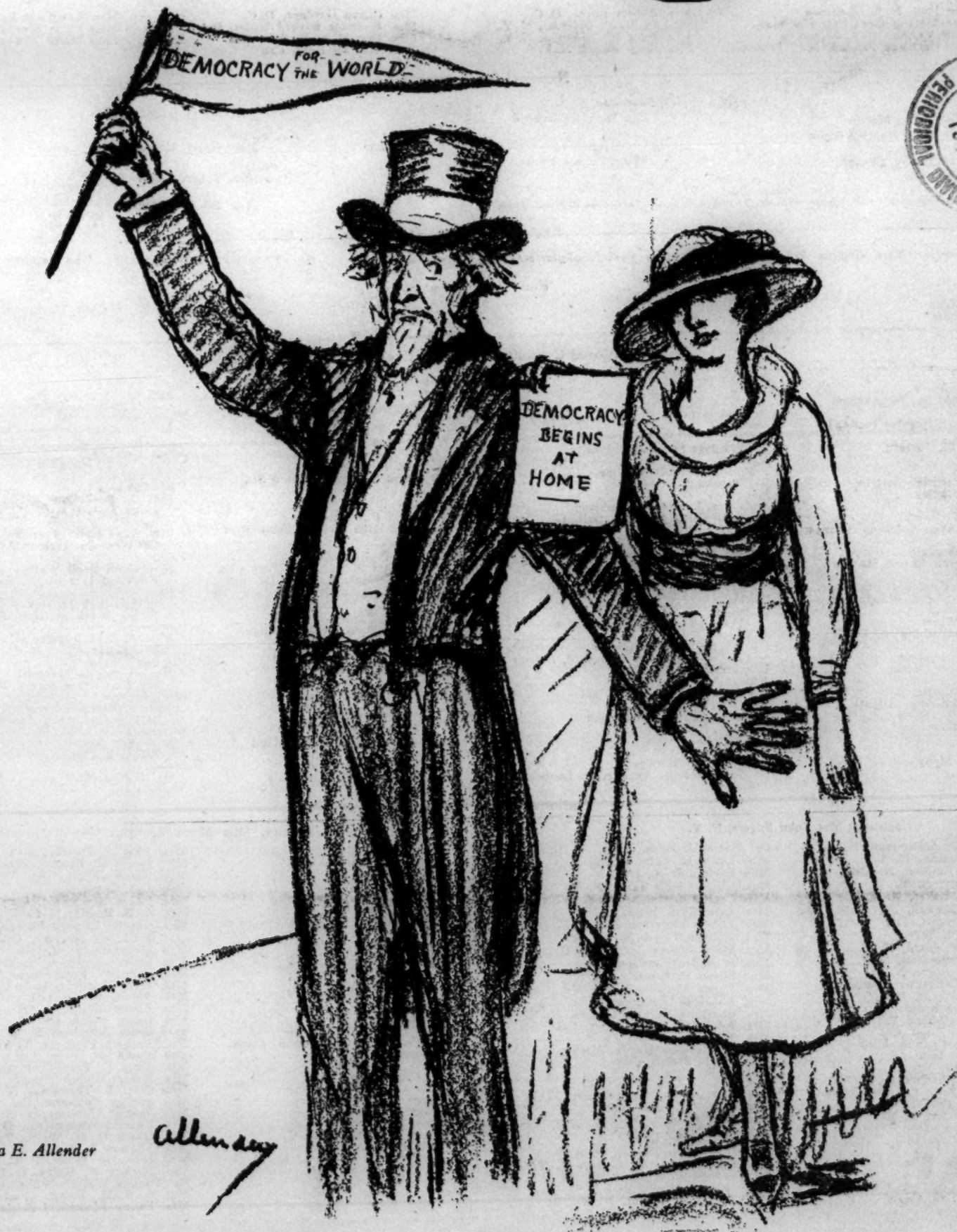


The Suffragist

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OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1917



Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Uncle Sam: "If I could only keep my left hand from knowing
what my right hand is doing!"

National Woman's Party

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MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

ENTRANCE FEE: Twenty-five cents. There are no dues.

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Notes of the Week

What More Do You Want, Mr. President

SINCE the war emergency in this country became acute last fall, measure after measure has been passed by Congress granting extraordinary powers to the President. The general public has scarcely realized, as the *Washington Times* for August 5 pointed out, that he has now "more power than was ever given to any king in all history."

These powers include: "Control of food and food prices, direction of railways, power to seize vessels, regulation of exports, authority to draft an army, power to raise billions, control of international commerce, command of military forces."

On Monday, August 4, a measure granting further power to the executive was introduced by Senator Culberson of Texas. The bill, an amendment to the espionage bill, reads as follows:

"The President in time of war, or in the event of any other emergency which in his opinion justifies such action, may, by proclamation, *prohibit all persons*, not authorized by proper agents of the government to do so, from *entering upon places which the President may in said proclamation designate*, classify, or describe as of importance in connection with the national defense, or from loitering within such distance thereof as he may prescribe. *Any person who*, after the President shall have issued such proclamation, *shall enter upon any such place*, or, contrary to the terms of such proclamation, loiter within a prohibited distance of such place, *shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than one year.*"

Yet still the President respects the power of Congress to take the initiative on one issue. Congress and the Democratic party must instruct him concerning the federal suffrage amendment. Congress should congratulate itself upon its lone power over the destinies of the women of this nation. Women themselves are not deceived. They know that here, too, the President of the United States has power to liberate today the women of the nation by pushing the federal suffrage amendment through Congress.

McAdoo and Czar Nicholas

THERE is a strangely familiar ring to the words of Secretary of the Treasurer William G. McAdoo, who, in a speech for the benefit of the Red Cross delivered at Montgomery, Pennsylvania, grandiloquently said: "We intend to vindicate and make triumphant the principles of human liberty if it takes every drop of blood in the veins of every American freeman."

What was that expression of Czar Nicholas about fighting for the liberty of his country to "his last mujik?"

The press dispatch adds this detail, "The speech is understood to have been submitted to the President and to have received his approval."

A few days ago the Secretary of the Treasury with an administration member passed through the White House gates, and with sneering laughter, pointed out the suffrage picket. There are fights for human liberty that the Secretary of the Treasury is incapable of understanding.

The Advance of Eastern Women

NOT only the women of Europe, but the women of the East, those of Turkey and of India, are joining in the movement for the advancement of women.

A dispatch from India states that women there for the first time in the history of British rule have sent a deputation to the Viceroy. The deputation went to consult him on the question of indentured Indian labor in the Fiji colony.

From a Dutch correspondent in the Balkans comes word that the women of Turkey are not only being permitted to accept work outside of the home, but are being urged to do so, and are being offered great inducements. Departments of the government are announcing "the ministry of war requires women for office and warehouse duties."

In the Turkish telephone service and in the Turkish Red Crescent, corresponding to the Red Cross, the Moslem women are working, while in the other office positions in Constantinople the Greek and Jewish women are serving.

The position of women seems at present to be advancing more radically and with more rapid strides in these countries of the East than in Western ones where powerful forces are being used to block the progress instead of to assist the march of women to freedom.

Jeannette Rankin's First Appeal

JEANNETTE RANKIN, representative from Montana, made her first formal speech on the floor of the house, August 7, to crowded galleries. This first speech by a woman in Congress dealt only indirectly with women. Because strikes are now interfering with national defense, Miss Rankin urged that the house enact legislation that will enable the President to take over and operate the copper mines of Montana and Arizona. Miss Rankin reminded the house of the illegal lynching of Frank Little, and told of her unsuccessful efforts to enlist the aid of the Department of Labor, the Department of Justice, and the President in adjusting the Western labor troubles. The War Department, because federal troops were guarding the mine, alone promised an investigation.

Miss Rankin is the only representative to Congress who seems to have seen the significance of such uprisings as the Montana and Arizona labor disturbances at this time. The discontent of unrepresented women, the discontent of underpaid

workers, the rebellion of conscripted farmers, are signs that President Wilson will do well to investigate.

Elihu Root Makes Another Advance

ENVOY ELIHU ROOT, since his Russian mission, has taken another of those spectacular leaps ahead. In a glowing speech, made in Chicago, since his return from Russia, he praises the courage of Russian women in being willing to fight and die for their country, thus meriting the vote; and paternally implies that American women may in the near future have a chance to shed their blood and thus also at last merit representation in this country. Mr. Root's memorable words are as follows (note the literary enthusiasm of his patronage):

"I saw 'the command of death' march away from Petrograd. It was one of the most inspiring sights I have ever seen, to see those women, some of them slender girls, with their hair cropped and their ugly uniforms, go away to do the work of men. They marched as befitted their name, for they knew no fear."

"It would not surprise me if, as time goes on, American women did the same thing. American women are just as capable and noble as those of Russia. When the call comes, and I would not be surprised if it should, we, too, will see women giving their blood on the field of battle."

"Russian women have surely earned a right to a voice in political affairs and not only have they earned that right, but the welfare of the new Russia depends on their exercising it."

Protests of Men and Protests of Women

THIS week has seen suppressive measures used by the government to put down disturbances in Montana, in Oklahoma, in Arizona, and in widely separated points in the South. These outbursts have been labor uprisings and protests against the draft.

In Butte, Montana, a crippled workingman and labor organizer was lynched by a group in the name of "law and order," after the government had been vainly appealed to for investigation and protection.

In Oklahoma it is said that the rebellious negroes, Indians, poor farmers and laboring men who led the organized groups of objectors to the draft will be drastically dealt with.

The protest of American women for their liberty at this time seems mild beside these disturbances led by both "lawful" and unlawful groups of men. The Montana and Oklahoma occurrences should fill with righteous anger every one of the American women who a few weeks ago were illegally jailed for making peaceful appeals for liberty.

Minority Leaders Demand Suffrage as War Measure

HAS the President of the United States ordered the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage to hold up its report on woman suffrage in order to block the persistent campaign of the National Woman's Party for the passage of the federal suffrage amendment?

This was the question with which the Senate of the United States was confronted when the simple motion of Senator Cummins, of Iowa, to discharge the Senate Suffrage Committee was debated on the floor of the Senate, and "the long arm of the Executive" hinted at in accusations of the minority leaders in regard to the inaction of Chairman Jones in regard to the suffrage bill.

It was brought out in the heated debate following Senator Cummins' motion that three months ago Chairman Jones, of New Mexico, of the Senate Suffrage Committee, without one dissenting voice, was ordered to report the suffrage measure to the Senate to be placed on the calendar. Senator Jones made no move toward action. He was taxed for his inactivity by women from many States, and by the fellow members of his own committee. His contradictory excuses were lack of time and preoccupation with the finance committee; disapproval of pickets, and the desire to write a report that would be "a contribution to the cause."

The minority members of the committee, led by Senator Cummins, after waiting for the Senator from New Mexico for three months, determined to place the suffrage bill on the calendar of the Senate by discharging the committee; they inferred that influence to keep the bill in committee was being brought to bear at this time, and demanded its place on the calendar as a war measure at this session.

IN moving for the discharge of the suffrage committee and precipitating acrimonious debate, Senator Cummins said:

"Mr. President, on the 4th day of April of the present year the distinguished Senator from New Mexico (Mr. Jones) introduced a resolution which, after the ordinary preliminary statement, provides:

"SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

"The resolution to which I have referred was committed to the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage. The committee held hearings, although I do not believe that the hearings modified the opinion of any member of the committee. This is a subject upon which every intelligent man has long had an opinion, and, while I am glad to know that the great cause is gradually moving forward, I think that at any given time the judgment of men will not be very much changed by hearings or arguments upon the subject. We have absorbed the information upon this matter necessary to enable us to reach a final conclusion upon it.

"After these hearings were concluded, and, as I remember the chronology of the matter, that was about two months ago or more, the members of the committee who were present at the close of the last meeting in discussing the matter seemed to be agreed, although there were not a majority of them present at that time, that the members of the committee were unanimously in favor of the resolution, and in favor of an immediate report upon it.

"A long time has intervened and there has been no meeting of the committee. There has been no report. Whether anything has occurred since the meeting of the committee which I have just mentioned to make the chairman of the committee believe that this is not an opportune time to make a report upon woman suffrage, I do not know.

"So far as I am concerned, I look upon the resolution as definitely and certainly a war measure. There is nothing that this country could do which would strengthen it more than to give the disfranchised women of the country the opportunity to vote. We have just concluded our consideration of the proposed amendment relating to prohibition. Was that a war measure? I think it was, myself. I think it was imperatively necessary, and I may as well confess at this moment that one of the reasons which impelled me to bring forward this motion to discharge the committee is that the prohibition resolution will have a vastly better chance for ratification if in the meanwhile we give the women of the country the right to vote.

"Last week—I do not remember just what day, possibly Friday or Saturday of last week—I went to the chairman of the committee and told him it seemed to me that under the circumstances we ought to have a report; that we had finished the hearings, reached a conclusion, and that it was our bounden duty to make a report to the senate. I reminded him of the circumstances of the last meeting of the committee, to which I have already referred. I asked him if he would not call a meeting of the committee on Monday. He said that it would be impossible, that he had some other engagement or engagements which would prevent a meeting of the committee on Monday. I asked him if he would not call a meeting of the committee on Tuesday, but his engagements prevented it. He then promised me, as I understood him—and I hope if I am wrong the Senator from New Mexico will correct me—he promised me that he would call a meeting of the committee for Wednesday. That is all that I wanted, an opportunity for the committee to either direct the chairman to make a report or to direct him to withhold a report. For some reason, which the chairman has not disclosed to me, he did not call a meeting of the committee for Wednesday, nor did he make any communication to me about it. He gave no reason for his failure to do what I understood him to promise to do. Thereupon I made the motion yesterday afternoon which is now before the Senate.

"I believe profoundly that the committee of the Senate have no jurisdiction, no right, to trifle with the authority that is given to them by the Senate. For what purpose was the resolution referred to us? It was referred to us with the implied command to hear what was to be said upon the subject and then to make a report. Inasmuch as we have conducted the hearings and the members of the committee have reached conclusions with regard to it, I ask that the resolution be taken from the committee and placed upon the calendar, so that it will be subject to the order of the senate. I do not know whether the Senate will desire to consider the resolution at this session or not, but I do know that it is our duty to put it in a position that will enable the Senate to deal with it whenever it desires to do so."

IN answering Senator Cummins, Chairman Jones claimed that, though his feeling in regard to suffrage was unchanged, there had been an understanding that no bill not dealing directly with the prosecution of the war should be brought before this session. He expressed doubt as to the result if suffrage should be brought up, and said that if given time—evidently meaning more than three months—he was going to put "personal effort into the preparation of a report which might contribute something to the cause," in short to "present the matter in such form as might appeal to the country at large." He accused Senator Cummins of being over-anxious to get "the plaudits of some of those who, regardless of the situation, seem to be insistent now to have the report made."

Senator Gronna, of North Dakota, interrupted to ask a direct question: "I ask the chairman of this committee why this joint resolution has not been reported? The Senator, who is chairman of this committee, I suppose knows as well as I do that the people of the entire country are anxious to have this joint resolution submitted, and to be given an opportunity to vote upon it. Why should not this joint resolution be reported and we be given an opportunity to vote upon it?"

Senator Johnson, of California, in adding his protest against the inaction of Senator Jones, charged that in holding up a bill which his committee had unanimously agreed to report he was exceeding his right. "The question is whether the members of a committee shall determine for themselves what they wish done with matters within their jurisdiction, or whether the chairman of a committee shall arrogate to himself the sole power of determination for all the members of the committee, and they shall be utterly nil as far as the committee is concerned."

Senator Johnson proposed that the motion be dismissed and Chairman Jones within a few days consent to calling the committee together to consider reporting out the bill. This overture Chairman Jones flatly declined on the score of time.

Senator Jones, of Washington, another member of the Committee, added his protest, in re-

sponse to a criticism of the suffrage picket as reason for refraining from reporting out the bill. "I agree with the Senator from Iowa that this is a war measure and ought to be considered as such at this time. I do not see how we can very consistently talk democracy while disfranchising the better half of our citizenship. . . . I may not approve of the action of women in picketing the White House," he went on, "but neither do I approve of what I consider the lawless action toward those women in connection with the picketing. Neither phase of that matter affects my views with reference to the merits or demerits of woman suffrage.

"This committee is the agent of the senate. It has held its hearing upon a question referred to it by the senate. There can be no good reason for

it not reporting its conclusions to the senate upon this resolution. *I do not want to think the chairman does not desire to call the committee together because of some influence outside of Congress, as some have suggested.*"

This implication by the Senator from Washington State was not taken up, but Senator Hollis, of New Hampshire, unblushingly admitted that he concurred with Chairman Jones, of New Mexico, in illegally holding his committee from a report because to report the suffrage measure to the senate would be tantamount to giving credit to the National Woman's Party.

"This is the trouble," said the Senator from New Hampshire, "and it might just as well be stated: There is a small, but very active group of woman suffragists who have acted in such a

way that some who are ardently in favor of woman suffrage, believe that their action should not be encouraged by making a favorable report at this time." Over the protest of Senator Johnson, Senator Hollis went on: "To discharge the committee would focus the attention of the country upon the action and would give undue weight to what has been done by the active group of woman suffragists."

The motion to discharge the suffrage committee from further duty—which would automatically put the suffrage measure on the calendar of the Senate—can now be brought up at any time, unless Senator Jones, of New Mexico, as chairman of the Senate Suffrage Committee, calls that committee together for definite action on suffrage.

Speak to the President, Mr. Root!

NOT the least of the triumphs of the Russian revolution is the conversion of the Special Envoy of the United States, Mr. Root, to a belief in democracy, not for all women yet, but for Russian women. So it was that we ventured to make him our special envoy to the leader of American democracy and to plead with him to intercede in behalf of "Democracy for America First."

He had contributed 3,000 rubles for Russian democracy. Surely then a word might be expected from him for American democracy.

Miss Lucy Ewing, of Chicago, and Miss Mary Winsor, of

Philadelphia, stood at the White House gate to greet Mr. Root and the Russian Mission with our appeal for intercession:

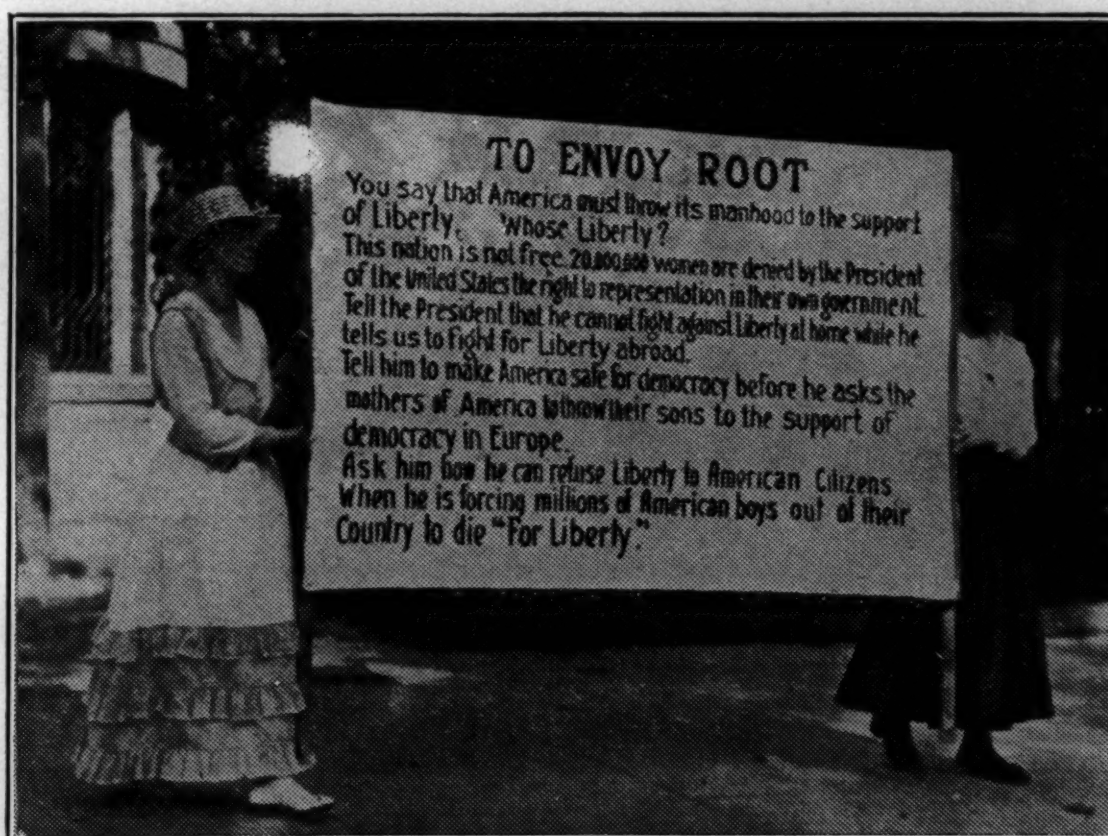
TO ENVOY ROOT:

"You say that America must throw its manhood to the support of liberty.

"Whose liberty?

"This nation is not free. Twenty million women are denied by the President of the United States the right to representation in their own government.

"Tell the President that he cannot fight against liberty at home while he tells us to fight for liberty abroad.



Miss Ewing and Miss Winsor Leaving Suffrage Headquarters with the Greeting to Envoy Root

"Tell him to make America safe for democracy before he asks the mothers of America to throw their sons to the support of democracy in Europe.

"Ask him how he can refuse liberty to American citizens when he is forcing millions of American boys out of their country to die for liberty."

FOR two hours they stood there with their challenge to make good our boast of a democracy. Little by little the buzz started up and down the Avenue that The Suffragists were displaying a new and startling banner, and the crowd began. On and on they came. Soon the thousands of workers in the government departments, who were coming out of their offices at

that time, joined the idle and curious passers-by who had stopped to read the new banner. Never has the traffic of Pennsylvania Avenue been so obstructed by interest in the pickets. Police captains, who three weeks ago were arresting pickets and testifying that the police could not manage the crowds, which they contended we had caused, placidly witnessed on this day half a block completely obstructed for two hours and never said a word in protest.

Strange and wondrous are thy workings, O Law!

MISS MARY WINSOR, who

has resigned from many of the organizations she was prominent in to devote herself to the protest for justice which the Woman's Party is making, said in comment: "Mr. Root says that the sight of women marching away to be killed was 'an inspiring sight' and implies that American women will not prove their fitness for the vote until they gladden his eyes with a similar spectacle. Mr. Root's demand is unprecedented. I wonder what the men of America think of elderly politicians who never took up arms for the country, and yet call upon women to purchase their liberty with their blood. What do the men of the West think, they who gave women the franchise without trying to strike such ignoble bargains?"

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate

Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House

Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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Whose Liberty?

"WE must throw our manhood to the support of liberty."

These words from the President's envoy just returned from Russia, fell coldly on the ears of the stricken women of the nation, who have paused in the midst of war conservation and acute sacrifices to ask themselves this simple question—"Whose Liberty?"

And the answer is, "Not our Liberty."

This is not a free nation. Twenty million women are denied the right to vote by the powerful and far-reaching obstruction of the President of the United States. Can the President hope to win from women fervent response to a war for liberty in Europe while attempting to crush their fight for liberty in America?

Women are challenging with increasing fire the right of a government to throw their sons to death on foreign soil for democracy precious abroad, but discredited at home.

D.S.

Justice

As Seen at Occoquan, by Doris Stevens



Doris Stevens

WHAT you all down here for?" asked a young negress prostitute, barely out of her teens, as she listlessly fingered the linen she was working on.

"Why, I held a purple, white and gold banner at the gate of the White House."

"You don't say so! What de odders do?"

"Same thing. We all held banners at the White House gates asking President Wilson to give us the vote."

"An' you all got sixty days fo' dat?"

"Yes. You see the President thought it would be a good idea to send us to the workhouse for asking for the vote. You know women want to vote and have wanted to for a long time in our country."

"O, yass'm I know. I seen your parades, your meetin's an' everything. I knows where you all live, right near the White House. Yous all right. I hopes you git it, for women certainly do need protection against men like Judge Mullowney, who has us all 'time picked up an' sen' down here."

"They send you down here once an' then you come out without a cent an' try to look for a job, and before you can fin' one a cop walks up an' asks you where you live, an' if you havn't got a room yet because you ain't got a cent to ren' one with, he says, 'come with me I'll find you a home,' an' hustles you off to the police station and down here again, an' you're called a 'vag' (vagrant). What chance has we niggahs got, I ask ye. I hopes you all gits a vote an' fixes up SOMETHINGS for women!"

We sighed in agreement as we realized their helplessness and heard the tale of injustices heaped upon unfortunates in the "justice" courts of the nation's capital.

YOU see that young girl over there?" I nodded that I did.

"Well Judge Mullowney gave her thirty days

"We have a new slogan now: *The President has pardoned the pickets, but the pickets have not pardoned the President.*"—Statement by Mrs. John Winters Brannan, New York Tribune, July 27.

for her first offence." She cried out in desperation when he sentenced her, "Don't send me down there, Judge! If you do I'll kill myself."

"Very well," said this righteous man whom President Wilson has chosen to administer justice, and who did the administration's unpleasant task of sentencing American women to sixty days for asking for liberty. "Very well, I'll give you SIX MONTHS in which to change your mind." And the pale-faced silent white girl was there to be broken forever, perhaps, because of the rottenness of a henchman of the President who loves liberty.

NO WOMAN there will ever forget the shock and the hot resentment that rushed over her when she was told to undress before the entire company, including two negress attendants and a harsh-voiced wardress, who kept telling us that it was "after hours" and that they had "worked too long already today," as if it were our fault that we were there. We silenced our impulse to resist this indignity, which grew more poignant as each woman nakedly walked across the great vacant space to the doorless shower.

We longed to creep into our cots after this humiliation, but no, we must put on the prison clothes, omitting nothing. It was nine o'clock, and we could not understand why we must clothe ourselves, even to aprons, at this hour—those coarse unsightly prison clothes designed to crush the self-respect of prisoners and wither the desire for beauty that lives in us all!

This ordeal over, we filed from the dormitory to the room adjoining, stood in line and were counted. Yes, we were all there. And what was to happen? Suddenly the door opened and Superintendent Whittaker, feigning a smile, and accompanied by a reporter, came in to review the "new ones."

"Well, ladies, I hope you're all comfortable. Now make yourselves at home here as much as possible, and I think you'll find that you'll weigh more when you go out than when you came in. You will be allowed to write one letter a month to your family, and, of course, we shall open and read all letters coming in and going out. I hope you will sleep well. Good-night."

We did not answer. We looked into each other's faces. Had we been brought into the superintendent's august presence at this hour that he might indulge himself in a patronizing good-night for the benefit of a reporter? Prison routine began to prick our spirits a bit.

Conversing with the "regulars" was discouraged by the wardress, but we managed to talk to our fellow-inmates with prison stealthiness from time

to time. "We knew something was goin' to happen," said one negro girl, "because Monday (we were not sentenced until Tuesday) the clo'es we had on were took off us and we were give these old patched ones. We was told they wanted to 'take stock,' but we heard they were being washed for you-all suffragettes." Only another evidence of the administration's cold deliberation in jailing women in answer to their petitions. The unpleasantness at wearing the formless garments of these girls paled beside our hot indignation at the government's calculation.

YOU must not speak against the President," said the servile wardress, when she discovered we were telling the truth to the inmates of Occoquan about the President's reason for imprisoning pickets. "You know you will be thrashed if you say anything more about the President; and don't forget you're on government property and may be liable for treason if it occurs again." We were inclined to doubt the carrying out of this threat of "thrashings," but one of the girls confided to us that such outrages happened often.

"Old Whittaker" (the superintendent of the institution, said to have been evicted from political life in Indiana after seventeen years of intrigue in that State, another of President Wilson's administrators of justice) "beat up that girl over there just last week and put her in the boob house on bread and water for five days."

"What did she do?" I asked.

"Oh, she and another girl got to scrapping in the blackberry patch and she didn't pick enough berries."

ALL put up your work, girls, and get in line." This from the wardress who watched over our work in the sewing room. It was lunch time, and while we were all hungry we dreaded going to the silence and the food in the gray dining room. To smell the odor from the food was to have one's appetite vanish immediately. And we were being counted again.

"Do they do this all the time?" I asked. It seemed needless energy was being spent counting sixteen innocent women who chose confinement to paying a fine lawlessly imposed.

"Wouldn't do anybody any good to try to get away from here," said one of the white girls. "Too many bloodhounds."

"Bloodhounds!" I asked in amazement, for these people were not criminals, merely misdeameanants.

"Oh, yes. Just a little while ago three men tried to get away and they turned the bloodhounds

after them and shot them dead—and they weren't bad men either."

And then we filed to the lunch table, carrying our heavy white chairs with us, as is the workhouse custom.

THE second evening during the so-called recreation hour, when one sits and waits for the hour to pass, we thought we owed it to our health to take some setting-up exercises. One of our women, a physical culturist, was pressed into service as leader. We had raised our arms above our heads a few times when the wardress stepped up and said: "You must be very careful, girls, not to do anything extraordinary, for it will amuse the colored girls." That was not our purpose, but we would have been only too happy if the poor things had found amusement in our calisthenics. The medieval plan to suppress all signs of merriment; the desire to kill any meagre attempt to be joyful was too barbarous. One would lose hope over the stupid brutality of mankind except for the knowledge that love of liberty in the souls of a few can consummate revolutions.

We welcomed our cots this second evening as no one had slept the first night and we were very tired, not only because of the strangeness of the surroundings and nervous shock, but because of the steady padding by of tall negresses

throughout the night, and the queer groans of one or two demented companions in our dormitory.

For the nth time we asked for our toothbrushes. It seemed a simple thing to secure sixteen brushes from our small bags, and it would have helped to keep us feeling like human beings. "Tomorrow morning," we were told. But we had learned to be sceptical about workhouse promises. We fell asleep hoping for so simple a luxury as toothbrushes "tomorrow." We got them, and our combs, only a couple of hours before leaving the workhouse the third day—a senseless deprivation which none of the older inmates could understand.

ONE of the numberless "pedigrees" was being taken. One by one we were called into the warden's office to be catechised.

"What religion do you profess?"

"Christian," said I quietly.

"What *religion* do you profess?" came the irritating repetition.

I did not comprehend. "Do you mean 'Am I a Protestant or a Catholic?'—I can worship in any church, Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish."

But it was of no avail. Insisting one is a Christian, a follower of no creed, pays badly in a workhouse. She wrote down "None." I protested.

"That is not accurate. I insist I am a Christian, or at least I *try* to be one."

"You must learn to be polite," came back almost fiercely. I went back to my work convinced that governments cared more for manners than for truth.

THE farm and indoor work done by the inmates of the workhouse goes to the support of the District of Columbia. Not a cent is given them in return for their labor. They are thrown there by a society hostile to their growth, their labor is conscripted for the upkeep of the very system which oppresses them, and they are cast back upon society, wrecks of human beings. They learn nothing valuable while there. Hatred is bred in them to stay.

Our detention at Occoquan, on the other hand, did many things for us: Every woman came out, a new flame for liberty burning within her, more impatient than ever at the miscarriages of justice, not only in her own fight, but also in the more difficult fight for social and economic justice; more awake to the painful oppression of helpless women denied political redress; hot with indignation against a President and a Democratic administration that would dare lawlessly to imprison women asking with glorious and inspiring determination for self-government.

Heckling the President

AND now Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the notable Chicago educator, aged 72 years, is accused of "heckling" the President. The case of Mrs. Young is only now beginning to be talked of by suffragists, so carefully was all reference to Mrs. Young's resolution on suffrage in relation to President Wilson expunged from the records of the National Educational convention, which was held in Portland the middle of last month.

Following the reading of the "declaration of principles" of the convention, Mrs. Young was given the floor and presented the motion, affecting thousands of women teachers in every part of the country, which precipitated bitter debate lasting more than an hour.

"I was at a gathering of women at Atlantic City last spring," began Mrs. Young, "when President Wilson said to them that he was with women on suffrage and had 'come to fight with them.' I think the National Educational Association might strengthen the hands of President Wilson by a resolution—how shall I word it—'Resolved that the National Educational Association endorses President Woodrow Wilson's statement to suffragists that he will fight with them *and this association hopes to see him fighting.*'"

Kate D. Blake, of New York, offered a second to this. Then everyone, it is reported, wished to speak at once. L. H. Minkel, of Iowa, a voter, said that "heckling the President was too serious a matter for the National Educational Association," and considering that he was "fighting for

civilization," the resolution of Mrs. Young was in "bad taste."

"How can a resolution endorsing the President's words add to his worry?" inquired Miss Blake on behalf of Mrs. Young's motion.

Bitter debate as to whether the great teachers' association should appeal for women's enfranchisement lasted an hour, men making the objections to its form and submission. Mrs. Young consented to withdraw her resolution and make it a motion to the effect that the teachers of the United States endorsed the President's own words. She next consented to take out the fling against the President's inaction on national suffrage: "and hopes to see him fighting."

E. O. Sisson, of Montana, a voter, even then declared that the convention "was in danger of doing something it would regret." "I don't want to drag in the name of the President in any way that may be misunderstood," he said, timidly.

THE President of the convention then claimed that the Young resolution was not a resolution because it "did not come through the regular channels."

Then Mrs. Ella Flagg Young wanted to know what those high-sounding words about equal suffrage in their declaration of rights meant if the convention did not like her suggestion to Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Minkel pointed out that the "heckling" would be taken up by the press of the country and immense damage would be done to the teach-

ers' association, to say nothing of contributing to the weight of cares borne by the President.

Two other gentlemen demanded a ruling from the chair. The president of the convention, a man, then ruled the poor little motion asking action on the old promise of the President to fight for the liberation of the women of America, out of order, and the flare-up over national suffrage was over.

The demand of Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, the pioneer educator, for liberty for American women caused the only ripple in the routine proceedings of the National Educational convention. The proceedings in which a motion made by a woman and seconded by a woman, demanding action on the part of the President for women, was overruled and quashed by men, the small minority of the convention, recalled the days of Susan B. Anthony when in a like educational body as a young woman she demanded the right to speak to a motion in a man-controlled convention, and drew down a storm of condemnation upon herself.

At this time, in August, 1853, Susan B. Anthony said: "My heart was filled with grief and indignation thus to see the minority, simply because they were men, presuming that in them was vested all wisdom and knowledge; that they needed no aid, no counsel from the majority. And what was most humiliating of all was to look into the faces of those women and see that by far the larger proportion were perfectly satisfied with the position assigned them."

Comments of the Press

The National Woman's Party

THE National Woman's Party is the radical wing of the American suffrage movement. It was organized for the purpose of pushing the federal amendment for the nation-wide enfranchisement of women, and it does not employ pink tea methods, but fights a strictly political battle, enlisting the voting women of the West in behalf of their disfranchised sisters. It is the National Woman's Party under whose auspices the suffrage pickets in Washington are conducting their campaign. The women who were sentenced to prison terms for carrying truth-telling banners are all members of this organization. The National Woman's Party meets with a great deal of antagonism, not only from the anti-suffragists and other reactionaries, but also from the older, more conservative suffrage group.

Yet, it is this radical organization which is keeping the American suffrage movement alive and constantly before the public eye at the present time. For while the older group has become so completely swamped with war work that bandage rolling, suffrage farmeretting, census-taking and various other kinds of patriotic service, have literally taken the place of suffrage propaganda, the N. W. P. has not permitted its work to become interrupted by the general war hysteria, declaring that women can render no better war service than to win for themselves their rightful place in the nation.—*New York Call*, July 2.

The President Coming On

IT is supposed that some pressure has been brought to bear in favor of the suffragists.

One of their number is Dudley Field Malone, collector of the port of New York, and formerly a great Wilson booster. Mr. Malone has recently called upon the President. Also several of the imprisoned women are not only prominent in their own right, but they have prominent husbands.

The President's yielding to the suffrage demand that he promote an equal suffrage amendment to the Constitution is still far off, apparently. The President is still averse to making suggestions to Congress. But those who are interested in equal suffrage will be gratified to know that at least the President has taken notice of the suffrage arrests—which made an extremely grotesque spectacle in this country and this age.—*Boston Journal*, July 20, 1917.

Mr. President

THE day's news contains two items of deep significance in this war of ours—this war for democracy.

No. 1. A judge of the supreme court of New York upholds the right of a citizen of the United States to criticize the government.

No. 2. A police judge in Washington, the capital city of the nation, sentences sixteen women to

serve sixty days each in the workhouse for criticizing the government.

The New York case centered about a man sentenced to thirty days in jail for "disorderly conduct"—that timeworn subterfuge of policemen and petty judges. His "disorderly conduct" was the distribution of circulars containing extracts from the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence, together with the question, "Does our government live up to these principles?"

The Washington case is on all fours with the New York case, in morals if not in law. The charge that the sixteen suffragists arrested were "obstructing the sidewalk" is silly on its face. The evidence of the police themselves showed that there was no obstruction and no crowd until the women were arrested. The suffragists were quietly, peacefully carrying banners in front of the White House. The banners appealed for woman suffrage and pointed out the injustice of a democracy which forbids the vote to half its adult citizenship. They displayed quotations from President Wilson's speeches. They were exactly like the banners displayed for weeks by these same pickets at the same place, without interference by the police.

Regardless of whether or not we agree with the women, we can only regard their arrest as a petty display of intolerance of criticism, and an abridgment of fundamental rights of an American citizen. The police of Washington have heretofore, on other occasions, exercised a similar arrogance and defiance of the rights of citizenship.

The American people will not be filled with greater enthusiasm for a war for democracy abroad which begins with the suppression of democracy at home.

And, which is perhaps of graver import, this rank encroachment on the rights of citizens peacefully to petition their President, will, if it goes unrebuked, greatly encourage petty officials in many parts of the country to larger exercise of their tendency to suppress by force all who do not happen to agree with their conception of freedom, justice, liberty and democracy.—*St. Paul Daily News*, July 28, 1917.

Those Unreasonable Pickets

THOSE pickets in Washington are unreasonable enough to think that President Wilson is in a position to insist upon the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment resolution, just as he was in position to insist upon the passage of the army draft bill and the elimination of the clause in the food bill that would have stopped the manufacture of beer during the war. Silly suffragists.—*Miami (Florida) Metropolis*, July 25, 1917.

Allan McCurdy Protests to the World

TO THE Editor of *The World*:

As an eye-witness of recent events in Washington, permit me to add a word to the

discussion which has been stirred up by your editorial entitled "Lawbreakers, Not Martyrs."

The pickets were tried on the charge of "obstructing traffic" and "unlawful assemblage." They denied the charge and brought evidence to support their denial. In addition, they frankly told the judge that their arrest was a "frame-up;" that he had decided their case before he had heard it; that they were so certain that he had his sentence of guilty ready-made that they had brought their bags with them to court; that throughout the trial he had shown such bitter prejudice that every element of judicial fairness had been absent. To the amazement of those somewhat familiar with courts, the judge showed no resentment at such statements; he smiled indulgently.

Five lawyers, among them men of national legal reputation, witnessed the proceedings. All agreed that the verdict was contrary to the weight of the evidence, that the sentence was excessive and that the judge had given such unmistakable evidence of bias that the case should have been thrown out of court.

Policemen engaged in the arrest told the writer of this letter that the arrest should not have been made, and excused themselves from all responsibility, saying, "We acted under orders."

Newspaper owners who are not willing to call themselves "lawbreakers" liable to arrest and "sixty days in the workhouse" because the crowds daily collected in front of their baseball bulletins make the owners guilty of "unlawful assemblage" and "obstructing traffic" are on delicate ground when they call the sixteen pickets "lawbreakers."

Refusing to pay their fines because they believed themselves "not guilty," the sixteen pickets went to the workhouse. The President pardoned them either because they were not lawbreakers or because, in spite of their lawbreaking, he was sorry for their plight. In the absence of any explanatory statement the pardon was susceptible of either interpretation. Either the pickets were lawbreakers and the President kind, or the pickets were not lawbreakers and the President just.

It remained for the pickets to prove their interpretation. They said: "We will picket again. If we are the objects of kindness, yet lawbreakers, we will be again arrested. There is no law that says: 'Break me Monday and you will be arrested, but break me Tuesday and you will be protected.'" And so they repeated, with careful regard to every detail, the act for which they had been arrested. They were not arrested.

Under these circumstances it must be obvious that no one can call these sixteen pickets "lawbreakers" and avoid entirely the ugly implication that the President has stood between these sixteen pickets and the law which he has sworn to enforce. Let any one who chooses tread such dangerous ground.—*Allen McCurdy, Morningside Presbyterian Church, New York, July 24.*

Comments of the Press

Jailing Suffragists

SOME of the best Americans are found in jail these days. Pacifists, who quote the constitution and the Bible, Socialists who insist upon their constitutional right of free speech and free assembly, and suffragists who tell the truth, find themselves promptly deprived of American liberty and securely guarded within prison walls. When, in former years, Americans traveled in Russia, one of the features of Russian life that impressed them more forcibly than any other, was the fact that having been in prison was a common experience among the best people. Today, the United States is emulating Russia; not the free, glorious Russia of 1917, but derelict Russia of the Romanovs.

In Washington, the great capital of this great nation, American women of blameless character, sisters and daughters and wives of voting American citizens, were jailed like ordinary criminals. These women in no way offended against the law. They neither practiced nor preached lawless acts. They have not smashed windows, damaged property, attacked government officials, or perpetrated any other deeds of violence similar to those committed by the militant suffragettes of England before the war.

They have simply stood quietly, silently before the White House gates holding banners in their hands. But these banners bore inscriptions, poignant, discomfiting inscriptions. By means of their voiceless eloquence they informed the visiting diplomats, the statesmen, the government officials and the public at large, that our boasted war for democracy is only a great sham, that this country has no right to preach democracy abroad while it fails to practice democracy at home, that ours is not a government of, by and for the people, since 20,000,000 American women are voteless and unrepresented.

Nobody can deny the truth of these statements; but the very fact that they are true is the cause that landed the banner-bearers in jail. For the powers that be do not wish to hear the truth, and especially do they not wish the mass of the people to hear it.

The jailing of suffragists in Washington added just one more black page to the present American record of injustice and oppression. But those women who went smilingly to prison, conscious of the righteousness of their cause and of the justice of their actions, have earned the warm approval of all women who are united with them in struggling for the freedom of their sex.—*Meta Lilienthal in New York Call, July 2.*

The Democratic Suffrage Battle

WASHINGTON has witnessed the trial and conviction of white women who made an attempt to get an expression from the President of the United States on the question of their right to vote.

Their offense against a city ordinance consisted of standing in front of the locked entrance gates of the White House grounds with banners marked with their respectful demand for justice.

The hearings before Mr. Justice Alexander Mullooney of the police court developed that the police department arrested the sixteen women and left unmolested the two or more thousand passers-by who obstructed traffic. The sentence of the court was a fine of twenty-five dollars or sixty days in the common workhouse.

We do not pretend to comment upon the action of these women. They know what they feel about the sacrifices they have made and are making of the sons they have borne and the husbands and affianced real men whom they have given up to service in army and navy for the defense of humanity.

We make bold to say to these splendid women and to those who are to follow after them down to Occoquan, that they must include all women, in their struggle, black even as white, poor and outcast even as rich and refined, if they would reap the sure and just reward that always follows the political Bahaim of universal truth.—*The Washington Eagle, July 28, 1917.*

Suffrage and Sedition

THE suffragists who have been arrested for picketing the White House with banners demanding woman suffrage as a political right, deserve our heartiest congratulations. Their straightforward and courageous propaganda comes as a happy reassurance that the soul of the suffrage movement has not been corrupted by opportunism. It was perhaps to have been expected that many women would succumb to the temptation of bargaining with militarism for the vote. Yet the spectacle of women anxious to assist a military bureaucracy in depriving others of their liberties, as signified by their offer to help in the work of conscription registration, in order to gain a political privilege, has been viewed with intense chagrin by those who regard the political emancipation of women as part and parcel of human emancipation. It would be useless to point out to such bargainers that they will fail to receive their hoped-for reward at the hands of the militarists; they will have to find that out by pathetic experience; they will learn well enough who are their friends. But meanwhile this proof that politically sound and humanly decent tactics have not been discarded by the best elements of the movement, is welcome if expected news.

The incident which resulted in the arrest of the militants was sufficiently ironic. It is not to be wondered at that the police failed to recognize the "seditious and treasonable" inscription on their banner as the President's own words. But that fact, when discovered, only made their offence more serious. To turn the President's words against him, is to commit, apparently, a species of *lese-majeste*. It is all right to talk about liberty and self-government when you mean something to be instituted abroad by means of conscription and censorship at home; but if you want to make those beautiful phrases mean something at home, you are on the danger line—where all lovers of liberty belong, and where we are glad to see the militant suffragists taking a conspicuous place.—*"The Masses," August, 1917.*

A Message to the Woman's Party from a Democrat

I WAS amazed at the suffrage sentence. I sent messages direct to the President, to the chairman of the Judiciary and to the Woman's Suffrage Committees. I urged the President to pass at once the suffrage amendment as a war measure. I said that such a step was directly in line with the democratic awakening now taking place all over the world, and that it was unthinkable that we should be behind England and Russia in admitting women to participation in the government.

"I said, furthermore, to the President that I was aware of his feeling that suffrage should be granted by the States, but even from that point of view the practical aspect of the question had been changed by the war and advocates of suffrage by State action could now consistently urge the passage of the federal bill.

"I can't believe the President approves of arresting women for displaying Democratic sentiments to which even hardened reactionaries cannot object. Every day in New York assemblages held for one purpose or another are displaying banners not so democratic as the banners the Woman's Party displayed and collecting much larger crowds.

"I hope the suffrage amendment will pass because I believe it will help America in the war; because it is right and democratic, and because I want to see the Democratic party, in what I believe to be the great administration of President Wilson, have the credit of doing justice to women."—(Signed) *Robert Adamson, Fire Commissioner of New York.*

Advice to Rebels

BY ONE OF THE GOVERNING CLASS

"The larger number (of suffragists) devoting themselves to war service are embarrassing no one, and deserving the ballot."—*D. L. in The New York Evening Post.*

Be patient and quiet,
And study to please.
Don't argue or riot,
Don't trouble or tease,
Don't badger or harass
Great people like me,
For that might embarrass
Me greatly, you see.
Be docile, unswerving,
Such virtues denote
That you are deserving
And fit for the vote:
I don't think you'll get it,
I hope not, indeed;
But then why regret it?
Why ask to be freed?
Your highest endeavor,
Your prize, you admit,
Would be if you never
Annoyed me one bit.

—*Alice Duer Miller in New York Tribune, July 29, 1917*

Financial Report

Treasurer: Miss Mary Gertrude Fendall

Assistant Treasurer: Miss Maud Jamison

Bank of Deposit: American Security and Trust Co.
Washington, D. C.

Auditors: Marwick, Mitchell Peat & Company

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD \$300,000 FUND FOR SECURING THE PASSAGE OF THE FEDERAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

List of Contributions from July 28 Through
August 4, 1917

Contribution made to National Headquarters:

Per Mrs. Kent's Committee:

Miss Ida Craft.....\$ 2.00
Miss Aline E. Solomons 2.00
Mrs. E. Dana Durand... 15.00

Per Mrs. Ella Morton Dean:

Miss Maud Jamison..... 1.00

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Collection at Miss Ingham's meeting 923.19

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Mrs. Nicholas Kelley... 5.00
Miss Mary Hawley..... 10.00
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Sale of Tickets..... 15.00

Total collected by National
Headquarters\$ 2,289.19
Previously acknowledged
in THE SUFFRAGIST..... 248,370.52

Total collected by National
Headquarters through
August 4, 1917..... \$250,659.71

Contributions Made to Colorado Headquarters:

Mrs. S. F. Hamp..... 5.00
Mrs. E. M. E. Solly..... 5.00
Mrs. C. A. Baldwin..... 5.00
Mrs. L. C. Cuthbert..... 300.00

Total collected by Branch \$ 315.00
Previously acknowledged
in THE SUFFRAGIST..... 35,225.96

Total collected by Branches
through August 4, 1917... \$ 35,540.96

Grand Total..... \$286,200.67

DEDUCTIONS

Transferred from Branch
Headquarters to Na-
tional Headquarters.... 2,136.00

Grand Net Total..... \$284,064.67

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A Correction

CORRECTING a statement in the July
28 number of **THE SUFFRAGIST** in re-
gard to the resumption of the suf-
frage picket in front of the White House,
Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, says:

"I picketed July 20, as I distinctly stated
in my letter to the President, because the
President pardoned me, or us, without ac-
knowledging our guiltlessness, and I, for
one, refused to go back to my State branded
as a law-breaker. I wished to prove my
complete innocence, which I did. In doing
this I demonstrated the right of every
American citizen under the Constitution,
to peacefully petition the President and the
government for their political liberty."

Mrs. Hopkins adds that the crowd she
confronted in again picketing the White
House was not large.

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